

PEACE NEWS

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HERR HITLER'S PEACE OFFER

Plea For a Sane Reply

IT was probably a mistake in tactics on Herr Hitler's part to link his offer of peace-conversations with abuse of Mr. Churchill. True, Mr. Churchill has not been backward in abusing Herr Hitler. We to whom both sorts of abuse are equally repugnant must be content to emphasize the crucial sentences of Herr Hitler's speech. They are a direct appeal to Britain.

In this hour I feel it to be my duty before my own conscience to appeal once more to reason and common sense to Great Britain as much as elsewhere. I can see no reason why this war must go on. I am grieved to think of the sacrifices which it will claim.

I should like to avert them also for my own people. I know that millions of German men, young and old alike, are burning with a desire at last to settle accounts with the enemy. But I also know that at home there are many women and mothers who, ready as they are to sacrifice all they have in life, are yet bound to it by their very hearts.

Possibly Mr. Churchill will again brush aside this statement of mine by saying that it is merely born of fear and doesn't count in our final victory. In that case I shall have relieved my conscience with regard to the things to come.

It is to those words that Mr. Churchill is called to make reply—a reply that will be reckoned adequate by the judgment of history. Though there is no indication at the time of writing that he intends to do so, we still hope. Not that the press gives us any encouragement. The absence of any specific terms from Hitler's speech, says *The Times*, proves that the offer is merely perfunctory; yet it goes on to surmise that the terms he would offer would be based upon our "acquiescence or co-operation in the so-called 'new order' for Europe," which is, of course, inconceivable.

Everybody now pretends to know what the Hitlerian "new order" is. It is hell; it is serfdom. In fact, nobody knows anything about it at all. Surely, it is time that we made some official inquiries, instead of maintaining simply that whatever it is, it is intolerable? It might save millions of lives to ask Herr Hitler to outline his own conception of a European settlement. What is certain is that we have offered no alternative ordering of Europe.

Of the various liberal-minded schemes which have been suggested, the one that comes nearest to definition is that of Mr. J. L. Hammond, who proposes an international economic authority "to put an end to existing inequalities between nations and between classes," and a European development fund solely to improve conditions in backward areas. Mr. Hammond assumes that it is inconceivable that Hitler would entertain any such plan. But it is no more inconceivable that Hitler would do so than that Britain will. At any rate he is likely to be as far advanced as we are toward the essential condition of such a new Europe, which is (in Mr. Hammond's words) "to break down national selfishness and class-selfishness and the immense power of the economic habits and traditions of the nineteenth century."

Hitler is no fool. He knows that if we insist on blockading Europe into starvation and famine for the sake of a "new order," nobody is likely to want it at the price, supposing they believed we would be finally capable of establishing it. The time is bound to come when Britain and Germany will have to talk realities to one another instead of rhetoric. Why not begin now before the realities become unendurable? It might save the peoples of Europe and Britain such suffering as no man, responsible to the judgment of God, dare condemn them to endure.

Neither we nor the Germans are required to regard Lord Halifax's speech as the official reply to Hitler. It was a stop-gap improvisation of no particular interest or authority; and the German Government is avowedly waiting for Mr. Churchill's reply. This may have been given when these words appear. We offer a few brief considerations.

(continued on page 4)

Europe's Children

WILL ANOTHER NANSSEN SAVE THEM?

Asks
VERA BRITTAIN

THE temporary official postponement last week of the Government's scheme for sending British children overseas turned the whole question of child evacuation into "news" which was seized with avidity by the press.

Many astonished parents, who had collaborated in the numerous private schemes organized by schools and other bodies for the emigration of children of mixed ages and ranks, were suddenly told, to their acute distress, that they had taken advantage of "privileges" which they had believed to be available, under Government auspices, to thousands of other families. In the noise and dust of the controversy which transformed an imaginative humanitarian project into a heated argument about class distinctions, the far more relevant question of national privilege was completely ignored.

For the purposes of public debate, "Europe's Children" remained principally British, with perhaps a small scattering of French refugees. Not one *Times* correspondent who invoked for or against evacuation such imposing considerations as international friendship, imperial sympathy, good citizenship, family solidarity, the value of adventure, and a dozen other noble principles, apparently gave a thought to the fate of the children growing up in that Europe which the British Government hopes this winter successfully to blockade.

Painful Memories

For some of us, whose memories go back twenty years, the word "blockade" has painful associations which the injunction "Save Europe's Children!" evokes all too poignantly. Last autumn, when a national optimistic faith in the power of economic blockade inspired a great deal of wishful thinking, one member of the Society of Friends recalled in conversation with me the children whom he had seen lying in the parks of Vienna in 1921, with limbs flimsy as paper owing to the long absence of bone-building foods.

I myself remember, in 1924, the Cologne hospitals filled with children suffering from rickets and tuberculosis, and the kindly Solingen pastor who showed me, during a meal at which he entertained me before a meeting, the photograph of his eldest child who had died because of the lack of milk during the British blockade. Other European children, too, I recall, who had not suffered from economic warfare, but whose younger brothers and sisters may now become its victims. I cannot even visualize as "enemies" the gay troupe of dark-eyed Italian boys and girls who followed a strolling flute-player round the harbour at Portofino as persistently as the children of Hamelin pursued the Pied Piper.

Effect on Children

Among the pitiful victims of war, young children are at once the least responsible and the most bewildered. With rare exceptions, warfare at its worst is apt to affect them in one of two ways; it turns the sensitive child into a lifelong sufferer from neurosis, and the tougher specimen into a belligerent little egotist animated by the primitive instincts of hatred and self-preservation.

How many, I wonder, of the correspondents who write so glibly about children "suffering" for a "cause" which they never chose and only half understand, have had actual experience of youth damaged by air-raids, epidemics or

starvation? Have they forgotten the child victims of the Russian famine, and the still more tragic children who, after losing homes and parents in the closing stages of the last War, roamed like pariah dogs over Russia and Poland, becoming juvenile looters and freebooters, and prematurely growing up as enemies of society?

Have they first-hand knowledge of the war-time privations endured by the lean and ragged children whom I recently saw in Spain when I travelled by way of Lisbon to the United States? Can they even imagine what befell the small boys and girls swept out of Paris and other French cities in May and June amongst the six million refugees who left not by orderly evacuation but in hasty improvised flight? And have they one iota of compassion for the German, Italian, Norwegian, Danish, Dutch, Belgian and French children who even now are terrified by our bombs and threatened by our economic campaign?

"Triumphs"

Again and again, in the popular press, we find triumphantly-presented indications of the distress which today confronts the continent of Europe. Our bombing, we learn, has created a state of terror and tension in Western Germany. The wheat harvest, we are told, has been the poorest for years, and Central Europe, is threatened with famine.

To add to these horrors, the editor of a large-circulation Sunday newspaper has suggested that we should set the forests of Germany alight from end to end, sow the Rhine with mines to blow up its bridges, bring a mountainside down by

bombs upon the Italian railway passes, use depth charges to turn the lava of Vesuvius on to Naples, and set about the swift and systematic destruction of the five chief cities of Italy. We are "to get down in the gutter with Hitler and fight as he fights." Has this apostle of realistic frightfulness ever calculated what will happen to the children of those forest towns, Rhineland houses, mountain villages and Italian cities? Or does he, like other "practical" men, bury that uncomfortable consideration away in the back of his mind, where the conscience-smitten humanitarian can never find it?

Not a British parent can fail, I think, to be moved by the eager offers of hospitality made to our children by families in the Dominions and the United States. During my recent American lecture tour, one question always followed, whatever the topic: "Tell us about the children!"

But I have often wondered whether the kindly, hospitable citizens of the Western hemisphere who are so deeply concerned by the present threat to British children, have ever reflected that, throughout the stricken continent of Europe this winter, there will hardly be a child whose parents can command either the food which medical science prescribes as necessary for the growing body, or the sense of security which psychologists assure us is essential to the balanced development of the mind.

International Conference?

Cannot we who are pacifists urge that the American slogan "Save Europe's Children!" be interpreted in its widest sense? Could not an international conference be held in Lisbon or New York to discuss the salvation of the next generation, irrespective of its race, nation, class, or creed? The giant pacifist Nansen, heaven-born leader of such a movement, is alas! dead, but I should like to see at least the suggestion made to Herbert Hoover, under whose auspices relief was brought to the suffering Europe of 1919.

"We're not making war on children," a prominent member of the British Government remarked to me only the other day. Not one Government, nor any representative of it, desires to be arraigned at the bar of history for such conscious cruelty. An international movement to save the young and helpless might well be the first step toward gathering the warring peoples together, and bringing the greatest tragedy of all time to an end.

A Pacifist Commentary

OUR national expenditure is now at the staggering rate of 10 millions a day, of which 8 millions is directly due to the war.

In an article in *The Times* of July 19, Mr. R. H. Brand, who may be taken as representative of the best intelligence of "The City," discussed our economic situation. Very noticeably, he has no great faith in the blockade: and his comparison of the economic position of Germany with our own is hardly encouraging:

We must remember also that Germany can rely on the produce of the actual soil of most of Europe, on harvests which renew themselves annually, and on mines which will last far beyond the war. If, by intensive efforts, she can increase Europe agricultural output, lack of food may not bring her down, provided she can obtain from abroad essential materials such as petrol.

But gold and foreign assets, once sold, are gone for ever; there is no renewing them, and in so far as we do not export, we shall depend entirely on how much we can persuade other countries to lend us.

What Mr. Brand considers an optimistic estimate puts our annual deficit at 2,400 millions. We may conceivably be able to borrow internally 1,000 millions; and the sale of foreign assets

Edited by "Observer"

may provide another 500 millions. At the very best there remains 800 millions to be provided somehow. It can be provided, says Mr. Brand (following Mr. Keynes) only by controlling wages: otherwise, there will be a disastrous inflation.

By taxation, direct and indirect, by more saving, by some method for the control of wages, and by rationing, prices and costs may be kept comparatively stable and exports may continue to be possible without a fall in the sterling exchange. The fundamental question is whether our leaders, Conservative, Liberal, and Labour, will this time have the courage to ask for the necessary sacrifices.

For What?

BUT if the Government has the courage to demand these colossal sacrifices, it will immediately provoke the demand: What are the sacrifices for? In order "to prosecute the war to a successful issue"? We maintain that no successful issue of the war is conceivable if such enormous sacrifices are to be imposed to the vague end of "beating Germany."

The successful defence of these islands and the British Empire against

A Pacifist Commentary

invasion is one thing, the military defeat of Germany in Europe quite another. To prolong these sacrifices, which the whole nature of our lop-sided industrial economy makes us less able to bear than German-controlled Europe, until the second of these ends is achieved, is to invite disaster.

We find it hard to believe that our Government is blind enough to persist in a war of sheer endurance till one side of the other is forced to capitulate. For such a war, as Mr. Brand shows, we are not better but worse situated than Germany. But for Germany too the sacrifices would be terrible, and the risks tremendous. The danger that stares the serious-minded man in the face is the danger of universal catastrophe—of exhaustion, collapse, and anarchy in Britain and Europe alike.

This is not a question for pacifists alone, but for all men who have the courage to face the facts. If they must not be faced for fear of "creating despondency," we are merely being condemned to go blindfold to our ruin.

Sacrifice Inevitable

THE Left Labour organ, *The Tribune*, would meet the situation which Mr. Brand would try to meet by control of wages, by demanding "that all expenditure over a certain level of income shall be prevented during the war-period, and the surplus income attached for war-purposes."

That sounds better from the point of view of the working-class than "the control of wages." But in reality it comes to the same thing, for "two-thirds of the consumption of the country arises from those with £5 a week and less."

There is no avoiding the imposition of a huge sacrifice upon the working-class, whether deliberately by preventing wage-increases, or chaotically, by inflation. How to impose a truly equivalent sacrifice upon the wealthier portion of the nation is a problem which can be solved only by such a social revolution as would break down our façade of national unity. Meanwhile, *The Tribune* joins with *The New Statesman* in demanding a revolution-ary war against fascism everywhere.

"Democratic Socialism"

I BELIEVE that this kind of programme is a fantasy, based upon the refusal to admit the existence of a revolutionary element in fascism.

The idea that the working classes will necessarily be suppressed and revolutionary in a Nazi-occupied Europe is wishful thinking. The probability is that Hitler will make it his primary concern to satisfy the material needs of the working-classes everywhere.

The only superior pattern of social organization that can be set against National Socialism is a truly democratic socialism, and that cannot be worked out in time of total war. Russian Communism, for all its undoubted

superiority to Nazism, is not a pattern of social organization that can commend itself to Britain, because it discards the one element in British democracy which gives it value—freedom of expression. Take that away, and the vital distinction between our own and any totalitarian system is gone. In order even to be able to struggle to preserve it, a cessation from war is necessary.

Only in such a condition can the struggle toward a democratic socialism be maintained: for this struggle demands education. The notion that the war-machine of a capitalist society can be used for revolutionary ends is an illusion—a repetition at a different historical level of the illusion of the war-socialists in 1914-1918.

Reply to Gandhi

INFORMATION has reached me from India that the correspondence between the Viceroy, and Mr. Gandhi

Continued from page 1

in connection with the latter's appeal (printed in *Peace News* last week) has now been published.

The Viceroy has replied to Mr. Gandhi that he had forwarded the appeal to the British Government, and had now received their reply, to the effect that, with every appreciation of his motives, they did not feel that the policy he advocated was one which it was possible for them to consider; for, in common with the whole Empire, they were firmly resolved "to prosecute the war to a victorious conclusion."

Such a reply was only to be expected. Indeed, it was inconceivable that the Government should return any other. And we may be grateful that the reply did at least convey an appreciation of Mr. Gandhi's motives.

I hope that Mr. Gandhi will not be discouraged but will address an even stronger appeal to those more capable of responding to it than the members of a national government involved in war—namely, to the heads of the Churches in Europe.

WILFRED WELLOCK tells you—

3 Things You Can Do

THE soul of every sincere pacifist is being torn in the present crisis by the search for the way of salvation for our collapsing civilization. That is true also of many who are not pacifists but who are extremely uneasy about the course of events and the ultimate effects of the war upon our social values, including democratic liberty.

It is apparent to all thoughtful people that something more is at stake in this war than defeating Hitler. They recognize that forces are at work which are stronger than any Dictator or any Government; forces, indeed, which have produced all the existing Dictators and will probably throw up many more iconoclasts, of various kinds, before the ills from which society is suffering are removed.

The fact is now being generally recognized that the present conflict indicates a much wider and deeper collapse of civilization than was at first supposed, and that much more is at stake than can be resolved by any mere change of Governments or even of régimes and constitutions. The events of recent months have revealed that modern civilization rests on a foundation of sand.

LOVE OF POWER

What we are pleased to call civilization has reached a stage when an unscrupulous minority can dominate a nation, nay, many nations. This power has reached its maximum in an age which has glorified the machine, and by means of the machine has robotized the working-classes and dehumanized and demoralized the class which controls it.

A situation has been reached in which the rich owners of the industrial machine

can control the mass mind via the press, the cinema, the theatre and even the Church, and thereby can also control the machinery of politics and a nation's fighting machine. This is the age of power politics par excellence, of monopoly, imperialism, class subjugation and poverty, of fierce international rivalry, world war and, finally, totalitarianism leading to world totalitarianism.

In the maelstrom which this process necessitates, free and peaceful human existence becomes impossible. More and more, war fills the bill of normal life until eventually it threatens to destroy the very civilization which rendered it inevitable. The fundamental social evils remain. Totalitarian rule, whether of the Right or the Left, turns out to be but a new form of the old tyranny of class domination. Bureaucracy supersedes plutocracy, that is all. For nothing has happened to remove the love of power, or to supersede it by, say, the love of humanity, friendship, and the gentle art of spreading friendship through the creation of beautiful and useful things.

NO HOPE?

So far as one is able to see at the moment there is little hope of saving civilization from this mad pursuit of power.

Those who to-day control our destinies, and by means of the powerful engines of publicity, drag the public mind behind them, give to their cause the glow of a spiritual crusade by inscribing upon their banners: Freedom, Democracy, and The End of Tyranny. Those who ought to know better evidently fail to see that the entire system under which we live today, of which war is one of the major institutions, of its very nature involves oppression and tyranny; that in war human enslavement reaches its maximum, and that the peace which follows war breeds new tyrannies and new wars.

Confronted with such appalling facts, what is the pacifist to do? All thought of consciously and directly supporting the war is clearly out of the question. It is against reason and everything sacred to feed the evil one desires to destroy. As I read the situation he has three primary duties:

1. To understand and explain to his generation the causes, meaning, and significance of the present world upheaval.
2. To discover and reveal the bases or values upon which alone a stable civilization can be built.
3. To live in accordance with those values as far as he is able, and thus to challenge public opinion with deed as well as word. Needless to say those values will carry with them a deep sense of humility.

These demands will necessitate close collaboration and sincere fellowship among pacifists and all those who feel with them on the main issues.

Wilfred Wellock's next article will answer the question:

"What is Wrong with Civilization?"

THE ACID TEST

THE modern pacifist movement in this country is facing the most stringent test of its history. And it is a sustained test, the severity of which will increase rather than relax.

It is not an ordeal through which pacifists can pass quickly. The dismal probability that this country will enter into a long period of totalitarianism whatever the outcome of the military struggle has already been stressed in *Peace News*; yet have pacifists thought earnestly about their reaction to such a régime and discussed their activity in a centralized society?

Let every pacifist be a realist. It is now painfully obvious that the list of peace pledge signatories has been swollen by names whose owners thought that the Kingdom of Heaven could be achieved on earth merely by glib talk of "a world conference," "remove tariff barriers," and the like.

TWO MAIN ROADS

The fact of the matter was that after the Great War the nations were faced by two main roads along which they might travel and their history come to be written: the old way of violence and power politics, and the unfamiliar way of peace and reconciliation.

They chose the former, and it led inevitably to disaster. Pacifists did their best to point out the inevitability of the result. But the other way, the way of reconciliation, although offering hope, was never an easy way, and was always fraught with tremendous risks. It might have led to a Cross on which a people suffered for their righteousness.

Far from pointing this out to non-pacifists, it is now apparent that many pacifists did not themselves realize it. Otherwise, how could it be that many consistently minimized the barbarities of the Nazi régime, and failed to appreciate the moral difference between our own capitalist-democracy, bad as it is, and a régime in Germany which not only persecutes the form but denies the very essence of Christianity? How is it that at this late hour pacifists have deflected from the faith because they could not countenance a German victory? Had they not faced the facts before?

He is a very short-sighted pacifist who has not envisaged the possibility of his country being dominated by another. And in the present struggle the pacifist is not entitled to hope for the victory of either side, for although he may be of the opinion that a treaty dictated by a victorious Britain would be more generous than one dictated by Germany, the moment he begins to hope in his heart for a British victory he should assist to bring it about. "Do you want this country to win?" is therefore a question that may not be put to a pacifist.

THE ACID TEST

We pacifists owe it as a responsibility to our fellows to face the full implications of our philosophy, and this brings us to the acid test of our faith.

Have we looked frankly and fearlessly on the prospect of domination? If we have looked upon the marked bodies of men from the German concentration camps, if we have known men and women of charm and genius who have been driven out of Germany because of their opinions or race, and if we have offered love and hospitality to the innocent children who have been similarly uprooted and cast out, only then, in the light of an informed conscience, can we speak of overcoming this evil with good. For we shall still know that war magnifies and multiplies these evils, that it is the very apotheosis of this tyranny.

The faithful hearts that are unshaken will aspire to a spirit of religious zeal such as the early Quakers achieved, and they will keep alive the human values in the coming era of totalitarianism. Such will be strong enough to cling to the things that belong to peace, and in all the evils around them, more than conquerors.

ALAN SHADWICK

A course of lectures, to be followed by practical instruction, will begin shortly at Highgate Youth Hostel, London. It has been arranged primarily as part of the training of volunteers for relief and reconstruction schemes to be organized by the International Voluntary Service for Peace. The syllabus has been prepared by an engineer member of the I.V.S.P., Hugh T. Horsfield, A.M.I.C.E., and an architect member of the P.P.U., R. Fraser Reiche, A.R.I.B.A., who will direct the instruction and from whom particulars can be obtained at 9 Temple Fortune Court, London, N.W.11.

Comfortably Off . . .

Some are born Comfortably Off, but for most of us the state of being Comfortably Off is hard of achievement. Greater aims absorb our thoughts and activities. Yet thrift remains a virtue, if a humble one.

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GEORGE DAVIES on

Personal and Impersonal Pacifism

I HAVE lately been reading Berdyaev's *Solitude and Society* and *The Fate of Man in the Modern World*. This man, Professor of Philosophy in Moscow, twice exiled for fidelity to truth, by the Czarists and the Bolsheviks in turn, has since lived precariously as a refugee in Paris.

The theme of his first book is that we have been measuring civilization and progress by communications—the development from carts to cars, from ships to aeroplanes, from printing and daily press to the cinema and the wireless, so that the whole wide world is with us at our doors, with its goods and evils; at our

A New Social Order

To the Editor—

YOUR article on The Crisis of Pacifism in your issue of July 5 states your main thesis that "we are involved in the death-agony of a whole liberal-democratic civilization," and you speak of the war as an escape from the "impasse into which the previous order of laissez-faire was driven."

I am puzzled by this diagnosis as it is so contrary to that of the well-known American writer Walter Lippman, who in his book *The Good Society* (G. Allen & Unwin, 1937) develops precisely the opposite thesis that the world since 1870 has been attempting to organize a directed social order, and that this seventy-years-old movement arrested the development of the liberal doctrine. Lippman says that "though collectivist theory is the fashionable mode in contemporary thought and guides the practice of contemporary politicians, its triumph is in fact a disaster in human affairs."

Your readers ought to know that there is this other side to the question, and if they cannot get Lippman's book, there are copious extracts in the July number of *Land and Liberty*, published from 34, Knightbridge Street, London, E.C. 4

DOUGLAS J. J. OWEN.

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Laurence Hislam's Appeal

"I do not agree that there is usually heckling at meetings in Hyde Park," was the amazing statement made by a policeman at the City of London Sessions on July 16, when cross-examined by Laurence Hislam, a member of the Forward Group of the PPU.

Mr. Hislam, a clerk, of Camberwell-grove, S.E., was sentenced to three months' imprisonment on May 27 for using "insulting words and behaviour whereby a breach of the peace was likely to have been occasioned" at a meeting in Hyde Park. His appeal against the conviction was dismissed and the sentence upheld.

The same policeman alleged that about three-quarters of the crowd of 400 was hostile, although Hislam pointed out that when a vote was taken an overwhelming majority voted for a continuance of the meeting.

In his statement to the Court, Hislam remarked that "at the meetings of the Ministry of Information it is the hecklers who are dealt with by the police, not the speakers."

PPU Publications

THE verbatim report of the PPU poster case at Bow Street is now published, price 6d. Postage 1d.

Also published this week is the reprint of the last Forethought Committee statement. This is not intended for broadcast distribution, but is obtainable at 2s. per 100.

The President of the Welsh P. P. U. (Heddychwyr Cymru) here concludes his article, the first part of which appeared in last week's *Peace News*

tables, with its problems and passions. But to-day the modern man in this world mass is more solitary than ever. He lacks communion; and it is upon communion, not communications, that man's peace and joy depend.

The second book describes the domination of personality by the collectives—tribal, national, State, Church, party, trades union, class, sect—to which we attribute or "project" our sympathy or antipathy. In conflicts and fears, these collectives herd us ever more closely, until the modern State (or the gangsters or demagogues who control its coercive powers), seeks to make one mass-conformity and uniformity to pattern, in school and out of school, in industry, sport, dress, drama, literature, and even in religion.

To-day the nonconformists in the German Church are in prison. The British "nonconformist conscience" that, in its day, "the little tyrant of its fields withstood"—clericalism, Toryism, landlordism—raised Lloyd George into eminence; but when conscience became political and struggled for power it raised collective against collective, Liberals against Tories, and ceased to raise "free men" who were willing to witness and to suffer, if need be alone with God.

Grip of the Collective

The fantasy of the impersonal, the grip of the collective, the hypnotism of the mass in war-time, hardens and closes like a shell upon the tender human mollusc within.

The *Daily News*, once the protagonist of conscience, announces to-day: "To be weak is to be destroyed. There is no effective counter to the total war which Hitler has declared on mankind except the use of total methods ourselves." And now the *Daily News* or the *Daily Mail* are out for hitting the common enemy, or defaulting ally, as hard as they used to hit one another in the party conflicts.

Similarly in the class struggle, as we have seen it in the mining valleys in the last twenty years, the hatchet has been buried for the moment, but not very deep. Ten years ago it was difficult to have any association with one side without being *ipso facto* suspect by the other. Later the schism between Socialists and Communists became almost as deep as it did in pre-Hitler Germany. The "universal heart," as Wordsworth called it, was sundered by the new revolutionary collectives as it had been by the shibboleths of the French Revolution.

In the struggles since 1920 there has been material and moral devastation. Miners' families existed for months in the long strike on 10s. a week; shares of the best collieries fell from 42s. to 7s. The storm broke many shells on the rocks—fortunes, homes, hopes, health, and ideologies; rows of shops have stood empty in the Rhondda for ten years; 400,000 have migrated somewhere, anywhere from the mining valleys, in search of work. The slogans and the clichés of journalists have changed; other collectives and other conflicts have followed; the distressed areas are forgotten in other distresses; the Peace may bring new distresses and conflicts.

Pacifist Alternative

What is the pacifist alternative? Some new impersonal abstraction, some new aggregate and collective, some new collision of mass power? Or is there some personal "Way of Peace," to preserve the personal values as a means no less than as an end, to replace the partisanship of the abstract idea which "sees

in part and prophesies in part" by the release and reconciling of the whole man to God and to his fellow in all his sense of weakness, failure, and futility when his abstractions and collectives alike have crashed?

Here is the vision of the new revolution and its method written by an aristocrat who has become a democrat of a new kind:—

We discuss the poor man in the Club meeting, we lament the state of the poor man; then we go out, and it is a mockery; we are met by the startling reality. The man may be poor, but have we seen the big spirit behind his condition showing the ordinary and unique life going on?

In the depressed area we talk of as an abstraction are many families living silently, which going up to the gate one may know, which meeting are realer than all political crowds, all condolence.

This does not mean that we are to do nothing; rather it means we are to do more; not to be carried away by the remote expression, the generalization that is non-existent; but rather, taking each family as it is unique in the long street, herald the life of political action, the energy and humanization of politics that is not in the general policy; that shall wake the individual to action for the individual—for the world, and not the imagined group for the imagined group; not the social wastage of discussion without the active and imminent sight of that long street, that man that you met at the corner, those children playing in the road.

Here is the true political action, the true nature of speeches, the test of all policy, the mockery of all separated politicians. The hour arrives when the true aristocracy shall possess no new cars for the arterial road but the old Morris for the slum street, for the wife of the poor man and the child of the poor man. This is the only justification of us who have time, feeling the wind of the whole world blowing over the whole world, that we use it for a new and complete job, containing all others, digging with the navy, waiting in the Stock Exchange, interpreting and connecting for all men.—(Without the Red Flag, Rufus Noel-Buxton.)

Is this the political alternative of Him who was hanged between two thieves, who said, "My kingdom is not as this world's kingdoms, else would my servants fight," and who promised "Where two or three are gathered together in my name there am I in the midst of them"—in His peace and in His kind of power?

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF DENMARK

OUR war propagandists, in their strenuous efforts to give us as painful a description as possible of the plight of those nations which have recently fallen under the domination of Germany, are strangely silent on the subject of Denmark. When they do mention it at all it is with the utmost brevity and only to hurry on to a description of Nazi severities elsewhere.

Typical of this was an article in the *London Star* recently, by its diplomatic correspondent entitled "Hitler's Slave States." Denmark is dismissed in two sentences: "The Danes have been left in peace on account of their insignificance, though their food supplies and cattle have been taken. Elsewhere the Nazis rule through governments which have accepted the Nazi ideology."

"On account of their insignificance." Let us look at the facts. Denmark has a population of more than three and a half millions. So far from being insignificant militarily, she gave no mean account of herself in the war against Prussia in 1864 which resulted in the Prussian annexation of North Schleswig.

Denmark has, in fact, the same population as Finland, which recently matched herself in war against the military might of Soviet Russia. Moreover, if the Danes had chosen to fight, they could have been assured of the same "help" from the allies as Poland, Norway, Holland, and Belgium.

No, the Danes deliberately chose the path of peace which was the logical outcome of the policy which they have now followed for many years.

"Similarly under the heading 'The Subject Peoples,' *The Economist* on July 10 remarked that "Denmark appears so far to have suffered least," and adds, gratuitously, "but the astonishing news that this small but courageous country has arrested some of its own Nazis must only lead to melancholy reprisals."—Ed.

John Barclay writes

IN DEFENCE OF CIVIL LIBERTY

IT is easier to get support for the Old Testament ideas than the New; "An eye for an eye" brings more satisfaction than "Love your enemies." Yet only by the latter method shall we safeguard our liberties.

At the great meeting in Conway Hall, London, on Sunday—from which there were two overflows—the loudest cheers came for those who violently attacked individuals responsible for the Defence Regulations. No one suggested that civil liberties should be allowed to fascists. Let us be clear on this point. We stand for the right of the individual to hold views contrary to the majority, and we must safeguard the rights of all minorities, including those with whom we disagree. The test of our true desires comes at this point, and the advocate of non-violence must be prepared to find himself unpopular even among those who care for liberty.

I came away from the meeting on Sunday cheered by the knowledge that so many people are protesting against injustices, but depressed by the thought that so many are prepared to behave equally violently to the present oppressors. One tyranny is to be swept away and another is presently to take its place. How can the voice of reason and tolerance prevail?

Certainly not by intolerance and bad government. One comes from the other, and we can only hope that by a change of government we shall gain a measure of tolerance. The basis of liberty, however, rests within the individual, and tolerant government comes from people willing to tolerate differences of opinion.

Let us make no mistake. The revolt toward liberty has to begin in a spirit of true friendship. It must be born with a desire to be free, and must grow in an atmosphere of non-violence if it is to succeed. It will succeed when everyone who desires it to succeed is prepared to work ceaselessly for the right of others to be free.

The revolution that is bound to come, to be successful, must be led by pacifists. A violent class struggle fed by bitterness and hatred will only result in far greater tyranny and the death of all liberties.

In 1920 a plebiscite was held to decide whether North Schleswig should return to Denmark. The result was a majority in favour of this, but the Danes resolutely refused to take any territory which was not indubitably Danish. After the plebiscite they took immediate steps to safeguard the interests of the German minority which they had incorporated. The Germans were given their own schools and full freedom to preserve their own language and culture.

The Danes have persistently tried to be "good neighbours," and for many years have done nothing to incur other nations' suspicions by arms or military alliances.

What facts have emerged through the press barrage of propaganda and obscurantism about the present position of the Danes? They still have their own democratically elected Government—not a "puppet" Government. On July 2 a demonstration of Danish Nazis at Copenhagen was suppressed by Danish police.

Of all the countries attacked by Germany, Denmark, the only one which adopted a policy approaching the ideal of pacifism and non-violence, is the only one which has retained its own democratic Government, and has so far remained comparatively free from the horrors of war.

Are not these facts strong evidence in favour of the pacifist's contention, recently re-affirmed by Gandhi, that non-violence alone can save democracy? Perhaps, when the full story of recent events in Denmark becomes known, it will prove to be one of the great triumphs of non-violence and one of the most significant episodes in history.

George E. Whitman

Peace News has been banned from the public libraries of Loughborough and Walsall.

We Want A Thousand A Week!

WITHIN a hundred of the 16,000 mark last week, the net circulation of *Peace News* should pass that figure with this issue. How much it will go beyond it depends on you and your PPU group. What are you going to do about it?

The first thing you should do is to see that your group is co-operating, in one way or other, but very definitely, in the scheme of distribution which has been circulated to every group. Or, if by chance your group has been overlooked, see that the particulars are sent for at once.

And here is a goal to aim at: we happen to have increased the circulation by 6,000 in six weeks; but though the average has been a thousand a week, the actual increase has been falling short of that recently. So a greater effort will be needed to maintain the average; keep it up, and enable us to report in a month's time—or not later than the end of August (holidays or no holidays!)—that we have reached the 20,000.

Follow the example of the Fighting Fund! Despite a low figure last week, it is back to the remarkable average of £40 a week again. The actual figure for this week has been £41 16s. 0d., bringing the total to £222 19s. 7d.

What Does



Stand For ?

A FULL summary of the position and activities of the Peace Pledge Union appears in this paper from time to time. As pressure on space prevents its publication every week, we hope new readers will either send for a copy of the last issue which contains it (June 21) or make sure of seeing it next time by placing a regular order for the paper.

The chief officers of the Union are:—Chairman: Dr. Alex Wood; Treasurer: Maurice L. Rowntree; Secretary: Stuart D. Morris.

Following are the present Sponsors of the P.P.U.:—

Vera Brittain; George M. Ll. Davies; Eric Gill; Dr. A. Herbert Gray; Laurence Housman; Aldous Huxley; Storm Jameson; John Middleton Murry; Max Plowman; Lord Ponsonby; Canon Charles E. Raven; Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P.; Dr. Donald O. Soper; Dame Sybil Thorndike; Wilfred Wellock; Arthur Wragg.

For further particulars write P.P.U. headquarters, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. to which also should be sent signatures to the pledge which is the basis of membership:

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another."

PEACE NEWS

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50,000 C.O.s BY TOMORROW?

TOMORROW'S registration of men who became 33 last year and of those who have become 20 since June 25 seems likely to bring the total of registered conscientious objectors to the 50,000 mark, even if the percentage of them continues to decrease at the present rate. The present total, including the 1,558 who registered on Saturday, is 48,520.

There are undoubtedly a number of objectors who are not included in the figure because they refuse to register, on the ground that it is a form of recognition of conscription. But the number who expect the Minister of Labour to appeal for their registration as COs, even though a local tribunal may register them for military service, as he did before the Appellate Tribunal on behalf of two London men on July 17, must be small indeed!

It is very rarely that this is done, and there has been a considerable outcry against it since the Minister's successful appeal on July 17. Indignant letters have been sent to the press and questions were put down in the House of Commons.

Asked by a *Daily Mail* reporter whether the Ministry had "personally interviewed any previous conscientious objectors," an official of the Ministry of Labour said: "No. This case should not be considered a precedent, though, in the same exceptional circumstances, the same procedure might be followed."

CONDITIONS UNFULFILLED

A man who had been given exemption on condition he did first aid work under Eccles Corporation, and another who had been ordered to continue his work as a market gardener reappeared before the Manchester tribunal on July 14 as having failed to fulfil the conditions.

They said they had not been allowed to do the work stipulated, and the chairman said they would report the fact to the Minister. "It might be that the condition could be varied."

When such cases have been reheard and it appears to the tribunal that the condition has been deliberately left unfulfilled, it has generally been the practice of the tribunal to register the applicant for non-combatant duties. This was done by the Appellate Tribunal in the case of a Birmingham man, who had twice been ordered by his local tribunal, and once by the Appellate Tribunal itself, to do agriculture.

To Reduce Pay To Army Level?

WHEN he informed the House of Commons, on Thursday of last week, that he did not propose to form a national labour corps in which conscientious objectors would be enrolled for service on national defence works at army rates of pay, Mr. Ernest Bevin is reported to have added that he had "the support of the organization representing conscientious objectors" for a scheme he was considering for the payment into a central fund of the difference between payment in civil employment and the value of the soldier's pay and rations.

As this is, to say the least, misleading, Fenner Brockway, chairman of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, has written as follows to the Minister of Labour:

You will remember that when our representatives met you on June 29, we reported that our Board had decided to recommend COs voluntarily to offer any difference between civil and army standards to some social or relief purpose. The object of this was to create a better psychological atmosphere between COs and their fellow workers and to remove prejudices which are unrelated to the principles of the COs' stand.

In our letter to you of July 12, however, we made it clear that we could not support a compulsory deduction from wages, which in our view would destroy the whole spirit of the spontaneous gesture which we proposed. It would involve the endorsement of a scheme of compulsion under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, when the Board is opposed to the whole Act in principle it would inevitably be regarded as a method of penalizing COs; and it would tend to increase rather than lessen prejudice.

At the same time, we should like to express our appreciation of your statement in the House of Commons that you "deprecate most strongly any victimization of conscientious objectors by their employers."

It will be interesting to see what effect Mr. Bevin's view has on employers, especially employers representing the public. Meanwhile, further reports of action by the latter have been received.

COVENTRY RETAINS COs

Rival petitions from citizens and a two-hour, sometimes stormy debate in the council chamber which cut across party allegiances preceded a decision by **Coventry City Council** against victimizing COs.

The resolution passed, at its meeting on July 2, left the corporation free both to retain the services of its pacifist employees and to engage in temporary posts men who may be conscientious objectors. The Salaries Committee had accepted the suggestion of the local government officers' own "trade union" that while COs already employed should not be dismissed, such people should not be employed on temporary jobs.

A motion that would have meant the dismissal of COs who did not take on non-combatant duties or land work was defeated, but one substituting for the Salaries Committee's proposal the principle that "choice for employment by the corporation shall be in the future, as in the past, ability to fill the post" was carried.

GOVERNMENT PROVISION OVERRULED

The General Purposes Committee of **Wood Green Council** recommended that "no action should be taken regarding objectors employed by the council, as adequate provision had already been made by the Government for dealing with them." But on July 17 the Council rejected the recommendation by 10 votes to 8, two councillors abstaining from voting.

More than three months ago Mr. W. J. G. Bradford was exempted by the South-Western Tribunal on condition he did full-time civil defence service. But although he had already been a full-time member of the AFS in Exeter, he was refused any further whole-time duties. Other local authorities have also refused to employ him.

West Suffolk Education Committee has decided to dismiss CO school teachers.

The Financial Secretary to the Treasury told the House on July 16 that men instructed by tribunals to remain in the **Civil Service** as a condition of exemption would not be given promotion while the war lasts.

New & Revised Advisory Bureaux

WOLVERHAMPTON.—R. C. Cockerill, c/o H. A. Pollard, 46 Uplands Avenue, Bradmore, Wolverhampton.

WEMBLEY.—S. E. Peat, 5 Oakleigh Court, Maybank Avenue, Wembley.

AYLESBURY.—A. W. Page, 48 Regent Road, Aylesbury.

FINCHLEY.—Arthur Goss, 8 Wentworth Park, N.3; and Fred Hutchings, 264 Ballard Lane, N.12.

HERR HITLER'S PEACE OFFER

—cont. from page 1

A serious reading of Hitler's speech will find in it a definite offer of collaboration between Britain and Germany—"a division of tasks between Germany as a continental Power and Britain as an ocean Power," as the official German organ puts it. And this, we maintain, is the only possible basis of a practical settlement. On that basis we can have an effective influence in the ordering of the new Europe—on the principle of reciprocity. We could safely allow Germany's colonial claims and Germany could safely allow our claims on behalf of the small democracies. If we fail to explore the possibilities of peace on such a basis our responsibility will be overwhelming.

Perhaps we are preparing to do so, God grant that we are. What is intolerable at this crisis of human history is that, under cover of sounding words, we should conceal an emptiness of positive political purpose. It is Mr. Churchill's over-riding duty, in replying to Herr Hitler, to indicate clearly—in terms that have real relation to the existing situation—conditions of peace that are acceptable to us.

To insist on the "destruction of Hitlerism" is mere verbiage today. "Hitlerism" means many things—among them a centralized reorganization of Europe on a basis more nearly corresponding to the realities of power and to economic neces-

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MISCELLANEOUS

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LOLA & LUCIA WENGEROFF, refugee girls aged 15 and 17, need a home during school holidays; small payment could be made. Write Kenneth & Joanna Lambert, Millway Farm, Alston, Axminster, Devon.

LONDON PPU members' meeting; Tuesday, July 30, 7.45 p.m., Dick Sheppard Club, Binney Street, Oxford Street, W.1; Vera Brittain and Mary Gamble on Women and the War; chairman, Sybil Morrison.

PACIFIST PRINTER. Handbills, leaflets, programmes and general printing.—W. J. Bridgen, 239 Sellin Court Rd., London, S.W.17.

PLEASE HELP! Our local refugee hostel by buying own made wooden toys, animals on wheels; 1s. each or 5s. worth carriage paid; all goes to funds. Councillor West, Reigate PPU, Pilgrims Way, Reigate.

PPU MAN requires bed-sitting room, London area. Box 487, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

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sities. That Europe should be centrally organized; that Germany must play a preponderant part in that re-organization—these things are necessary and, in their broad lines, irrevocable. What is capable of being influenced is the *kind* of polity that is built upon those necessary foundations. Here we have a chance. By using our present reserves of power wisely in the bargain we could achieve much in mitigation of those aspects of Hitlerism which are retrograde and detestable. The chance may not recur.